/440 cont./

396 313 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, ú̆kgša, [481] wuú̆kgša, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 313 412 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113.-Analyst]

/442 cont./

396 313 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier [481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, tstĕskasĭna, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

396 313 824 Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily /443/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156; 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 396 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

/526 cont./

223 In this method of catching birds the Yamana show an incredible dexterity in controlling their whole bodies and in deceiving the startled birds. One night I accompanied two men merely to observe them. I crept along behind them. Simply because I had no practice whatsoever, I almost deprived them of success in their hunt.

223 481 The cormorants prefer to nest on the smooth, steep rocks that jut out far into the open sea. From below it is impossible to climb up some of these walls, in which hundreds of the birds make their nests. Sometimes a forced ascent can be made from the other side, and for this the Yamana do not lack daring when their food has become scarce. Several men set out together on a dark, stormy night, after they have oriented themselves somewhat by daylight. They climb up to the top of the rock and get close to the edge of the steep wall within which the many nests have been built. One of the younger men ties a long, firm strap, tkeia, around his loins. He is carefully lowered by the other men who have secured a safe footing up above. Previously they have agreed 223 on certain knocks as signals which the man who is lowered is to communicate to those above by hitting his strap -- this to enable him to move successfully. He seizes the sleeping cormorant, which has hidden its head in its wing, by its bent neck and bites through it. The animal dies at once. Depending on the terrain, he either drops his booty or ties it to the strap around his hips or to a strap that has been lowered. Immediately he seizes another bird. He is favored by the blowing and howling of the dark night, and a good yield is assured him because of the great number of birds, even though some should wake up and escape. If he grows tired or finds himself already heavily laden with booty, he lets himself be hoisted up. Usually another man takes his place in this work, for they want /527/ to take full advantage of this favorable opportunity and be well repaid for their efforts. The people know very well that this undertaking is dangerous (249), but when an emergency

249. This is proved by experiences that Bridges (MM:XIII, 157; 1879) had: "Many accidents occur in following these risky pursuits. Sometimes sharp rocks cut the

/543 cont./

226 Lothrop (b):154 speaks of the "Sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

226 In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe
481 and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (b):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

does this when she sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold [47] water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian women to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea urchins.

226 Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

222 [262] /554 cont./ texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ẽsẽf; when it is ripe it is called auẽix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amẽif or ẽsamẽif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

222 462

[481 934]

Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/616 cont./

502 the tough algae stalks and also pulls bundles of branches across it so that it is all entangled in the elastic bundle. She also fastens the paddle there. Then she dives out and swims to shore. Meanwhile her family has kindled a good fire, and she soon warms herself thoroughly (423). No matter how high the waves pile up

423. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) also discusses this method of mooring the canoe.

during the night, they do not hurt the light canoe. On the beach it could be dashed against rocks at high tide /617/ or tossed back and forth on the shore, which would scrape open the seams. Hence it is moored safely outside among the floating elastic algae which are in tangled masses (424).

424. Lucy:170 has erroneously maintained that the canoe is taken apart on landing. Anyone who is familiar with the construction of this vessel knows that taking it apart is impossible.

481 On this occasion, which happens frequently, the Indian woman is obliged to swim. It is a strange fact that generally only women and girls can swim. Many European observers have pointed this out (425) and praised their endurance in diving. Bridges (MM:III,

425. For example, Bridges (MM:XIII, 157; 1879), Despard (b):697, Hyades (h):12 and (q):213, Lovisato (b):130, Speganzini (a): 171, and others.

115; 1869) briefly emphasizes: "Women invariably swim, and men never" /cited in English/. Only when they are forced by necessity, however, do they enter the water, namely, when servicing the canoe, when looking for sea urchins, and when they haul in a game animal. On the really warm days which are extremely rare a few persons bathe in order to cool off a bit (426).

426. Hyades (g):38 emphasizes: "Strangely

/617 cont./

• 481

enough, women can swim, but not men. The women usually swim very well, but go into the water only when they have to. Only rarely, when it was relatively warm, did the Frenchmen have an opportunity to observe that the Fuegian women also jumped into the water for pleasure, and played about happily in it without any particular purpose."

A person who comes out of the water immediately hastens to the hut fire in order to warm himself thoroughly. In winter they also, [302] as Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed, "rub their bodies all over with oil or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold" /cited in English/ (427). Aspinall:270, however, is right when he says that

427. Hyades (q):214 supplements this by saying: "We saw young women swimming, one of whom was five-months pregnant, another nursing, on a May day when the temperature of the water was not above six degrees" /translated from French/.

"men can seldom swim, women always" (428). When I asked

428. Hence Fitz-Roy (a):186 exaggerates with his assertion: "Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers" /cited in English/, because it is too general.

about this from one of the many who could not swim, I received the reply: "We don't have to learn it, for the woman takes us in the canoe to the beach and fetches us again from there (429)!"

429. To the same question Hyades (q):214 received the answer "given mockingly by a Fuegian: only the women can swim because their breasts keep them on top of the water" /translated from French/. Compare also

/617 cont./

481 Hyades (b):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing; nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

The manner in which the women move in the water resembles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing with Fitz-Roy (a):186, expresses himself, "is more like that of the dog than ours" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And why not! Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/620 cont./

221 "In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country" /cited in English/. In other words, they avoid extensive trips which are less profitable in winter.

at their disposal, which they take from here and there, whereas in winter they depend on fewer kinds. Penguins, for example, nest on low, remote islands; cormorants, in rock walls against the open sea; fish prefer calm, shallow inlets, and berries thrive in sunny spots; crabs gather on a gently sloping sea floor, and seals congregate close to rock caves. The Indian knows all these spots, and, in accordance with the season, he tries his luck in one or another of them. He takes advantage of his most recent experiences, supported by his excellent knowledge of the locale, but he does not return to the same spot very soon, in order to give the frightened animals enough time to calm themselves and to reassemble; later on he can successfully surprise them there. Not infrequently the hunter lands at some spot without any success at all, for example, if some other family appeared there a day or two previously or if unfavorable weather has driven the animals away. He is constantly drawn back to the places that never disappoint him; they then become his favorite places, so to speak.

/621/ On land the Yamana display a less steady gait than the neighboring Selk'nam. This is by no means to deny that they are highly adroit in hunting and gathering, capturing birds, and overtaking seals. We simply refer to the way in which they stand and walk. In this they are without doubt somewhat awkward. It is hard for them to run and jump; if they walk slowly, they soon tire (434). Nevertheless, there are many steps they cannot spare

434. The Anglican missionaries repeatedly called attention to this. For example, Despard (b):697: "Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking" /cited in English/.

To say that when they walk for a longer

/621 cont./

481 time they have severe nosebleeds, as travelers of the "Beagle" maintained, has not been proved and is completely unknown to me personally.

themselves. The men gather small tree trunks for hut-building and large sticks for firewood. Sometimes they go deep into the woods to hunt for suitable pieces of bark for a new canoe and poles for weapons. In case of an accident or if they lose their canoe, they must cover great distances. They can reach some birds, otters, and seals only on land. The woman, too, is not spared daily errands on foot. By and large, our Yamana are much on their feet throughout the day and are always going hither and yon, over and over again (435). We must admit that their gait

435. Hyades (q):213 correctly maintains: "Contrary to what has been said by some authors, the Fuegians walk a great deal, and on the slightest pretext they are continually coming and going in the vicinity of their huts" /translated from French/.

is always light and quick. Even when the ground is soft, they hardly sink in, and in general they leave only very faint footprints. "For example, even when they have lived for a long time in the same place, it is not possible to discover, unless one follows them, the pool where they get drinking water 20 times a day" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:213).

516 The Fuegians do not have stools in their huts or benches in their canoe. They do not like to sit down on an object, say, a stone or tree, with their legs hanging down. Their most comfortable sitting position is to squat on the flat ground. In this case they either rest their buttocks on the ground and have the soles of their feet flat on the ground with the heels touching the buttocks -- usually with one bent knee turned outward -- or the two legs are half-bent at the knees, closed and turned outward, extending immediately in front of the buttocks which rest on the ground, with one leg more or less on top of the other, or finally,

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

276 [273] Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 857 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity. There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were [533] common accompaniments of children's group play.

● [481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or 526 grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

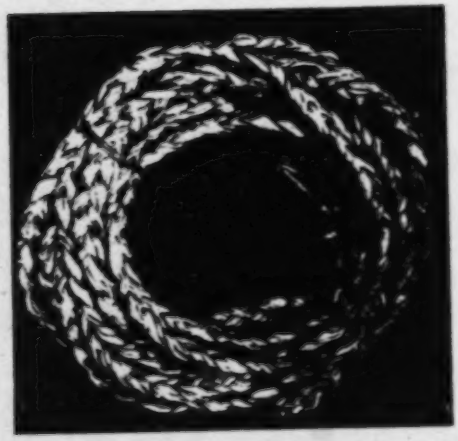

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5¼ in. (14/2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-